1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

Another irregularity that has grown up within recent times is the occasional transmission of the clan war-bundle in the female line. In olden times it could only be transmitted in the male line, so as to prevent its passing out of the clan. It was, however, not always passed to the eldest son, but to that one who, by his actions and the interest he manifested in learning the legends and songs pertaining to the ceremony, showed himself capable of properly providing for the bundle. Now it happened occasionally that a man either possessed no son or that his son did not show sufficient interest in all that pertained to the bundle. In such a case the father had the alternative of giving it to some near relative in the male line, and if there were none of either giving it to some distant relative in the male line or the son of his sister or daughter. This, of course, happened very rarely, and in all probability the female line would eventually have to return it to the clan to which it originally belonged.

We have described these two instances of transmission in the female line in some detail in order to show how simply they can be explained without the intervention of any theory that the Winnebago reckoned descent in the female line originally. Such a claim has been made by Morgan and reiterated by Frazer. It seems to be based on the fact that Carver found the daughter of a Winnebago chief, known to the whites as Glory-of-the-Morning, and her children occupying an exceptional position among the tribe, or at least among the division of the Winnebago living at the upper end of Lake Winnebago, Wis. Her position and that of her children, one of whom has become well known in Winnebago legends, *Taap'oopaga*, was, however, due to the fact that she married a Frenchman named Decora. She was not the chieftainess of the tribe nor were any of her children, strictly speaking, chiefs of the tribe. In any case her position had nothing to do with female descent and at best but illustrates what we have said before about the clan to which children of such a union belong.

INDIVIDUAL NAMES

Before turning to the specific study of each clan a few words must be said about the individual names. From a purely descriptive point of view the names can be arranged in nine classes:

I. Color.
II. Physiological characteristics.
III. Social functions.
IV. Animal and plant forms.
V. Animal characteristics.
VI. Natural phenomena.
VII. Quality.
VIII. Episodes of a legendary character.
IX. Personal achievement.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

The Guardian Spirits

776 In the concept of the guardian spirits we have a mixture of both the "mechanical" and the "contract" theories. The guardian spirits themselves are, to our mind, but the transformed localized spirits; in other words, the *gnii loci*. They are supposed to protect the individual to whom they appear in the same way as the *gnii loci* protected their precinct. While theoretically every Winnebago could have his own guardian spirit, there seems to have been a marked tendency for certain guardian spirits to be inherited. This was so, not because there was any distinct development of the idea of inheritance, but because certain definite powers were associated with the spirits, like success in hunting, fishing, etc. In terms of everyday life this simply meant that a good hunter would try to make his sons and near relatives good hunters; in religious terminology it meant that a son was blessed by the same guardian spirit as the father. (Cf. the fasting experience on p. 293.)

The following fasting experiences will show clearly what powers are supposed to be possessed by the various guardian spirits. The attitude with which the faster approaches the ordeal clearly varies from that of childish playfulness to one of considerable religious intensity, always remembering that we are dealing with boys and girls before the adolescent stage. Perhaps the best way of putting it would be to say that we are dealing with a stereotyped expression of life, reading as follows: "I am a successful hunter; I am a prominent warrior, etc.; and I am told that I have become such because I have done what my elders told me, have practiced these professions diligently, and made offerings to the spirits." Such a formula might be put in the mouth of the youthful faster, but it meant nothing until it was interpreted much later in terms of each man's experience in life.

787 The youth's fasting experience is carefully tested by the elders, and if found wanting in any respect the youth has either to try again or give up.

The guardian spirit is not supposed to be in permanent attendance upon man. It is only when he is needed, in the crises of life, that he is brought into relation with man; and it is quite characteristic of the markedly materialistic basis of the belief that the spirit is only called into aid for the particular needs of the case.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

four warriors who have counted coup on the last warpath form the units of organization. The peculiarity of the War-bundle Feast is that it belongs not merely to one of these types but to two of them.

The war bundles were originally family possessions and were, in the opinion of the writer, only secondarily associated with the clan as such. They represent a complex of blessings received from various spirits who are supposed to control the fortunes of war. They were handed down from one generation to another in the same family; but not necessarily to the eldest son, and could as a matter of default pass out of the hands of the immediate family. The individual who received the war bundle was that one who had by his interest, knowledge, character, and accomplishments demonstrated to the full satisfaction of the elder generation, more specifically to the elder generation represented by his father and close male relatives of his father's generation, that he was capable of continuing the ceremonials in a proper manner. It follows from this that he would have to be a well-known warrior. Now, it is customary among all the woodland tribes for a warrior who is about to start on a warpath to give a feast to which he invites all the other warriors, from among whom he, of course, has to draw his recruits; and at this feast he explains the nature of the contemplated warpath and his warrant—i. e., the thoroughness of the specific blessings he has received—for starting it.

In other words, we will have to picture to ourselves the war-bundle feast as originally a gathering of warriors preparatory to the starting out of a war party, in which the part of the host was always taken by the leader of the prospective war party. All of the well-known warriors were likely to have war bundles, and thus the basis for the development of what is, to all intents and purposes, a society of those who had war bundles was always present potentially. It is believed, however, that at the time the Winnebago culture was still in the formative stage this aspect of the gathering was entirely secondary, and that primarily it was a gathering of warriors for the immediate purpose of going on a warpath.

It may perhaps be interesting to go into some details of how this "society" aspect of a gathering of warriors developed. This development probably took two lines—first, a religious one, and secondly, one of definite organization. It would be quite erroneous to say that it took these lines of evolution, because it is in the nature of societies thus to develop. This originally temporary organization took these lines of development because of the presence in the war-bundle ritual of two factors—first, fasting experiences associated with the same spirits, and, second, the influence of the clan organization.

Only a small number of spirits were specifically associated with success in war, and these were Disease-giver, Thunderbirds, Sun, and the Night Spirits.